

INSTRUCTIONS SENT TO IMPERIAL GOVERNMENT DELEGATES
AT THE PRELIMINARY NEGOTIATIONS OF THE NAVAL DIS-
ARMAMENT CONFERENCE OF 1935.

1. The reason for our Government giving consent to the opening of preliminary negotiations for the Naval Disarmament Conference which was proposed by Britain in May this year was because the present Naval Disarmament Conference is an important affair and as difficulties were foreseen. Therefore, it is to avoid unnecessary agitation of public opinions, of nations concerned, as well as to exchange opinions fully between nations represented and thereby clarifying the standpoints and assertions of all participant nations and accomplishing our objectives to enable the smooth attainment of the conference aims and also security of our national defense.

2. In view of the present preliminary negotiations inevitably facing a difficult situation the Imperial Government places great expectations to your efforts. In negotiations, follow the basic policy as indicated herein, as well as the import of this instruction and as for naval technical affairs consult the senior naval-expert delegate.

As negotiations are expected to be delicate, anything which requires past and appropriate measures are entrusted to your decision within the scope of authority specified in this instruction.

3. As to the problem of formalities, exchange of opinions with the main participant nations have already been made but endeavor to accomplish our assertions on items still unsolved at the preliminary negotiations scheduled to open around October this year.

4. The British Government has repeatedly made proposals on debating on the problem of the so-called substantial problem of naval disarmament but it was not necessarily the same with the U.S.

As there seems to be considerable difference between what has been explained to our Embassy at Washington from competent U.S. authorities and what the U.S. delegates spoke to our delegates at London and therefore it is requested that you make it clear at the very beginning of preliminary negotiations if the U.S. is prepared to make sufficient arguments on the problems of substantial disarmament. Even in case the U.S. is not prepared to discuss on the substantial disarmament problem the Imperial Government has no objections in negotiating with Britain but attention must be paid to see that Britain does not lead in negotiations and make our standpoint disadvantageous.

5. In the present Naval disarmament preliminary negotiation, the Government, based on the basic policy as defined under No. 6 herein, shall prepare a disposition to form a new agreement which will secure an impartial and adequate military strength and establish a stable national defense, thereby reducing the people's burden in the future and promoting peaceful intercourse between all nations. And after the expiration of already existent naval armament limitation agreement, it must be borne in mind that the Imperial Government will not tolerate the conclusion of any agreement which will continue to force upon us disadvantageous conditions and make our national defense insecure.

6. The following basic policy of the Imperial Government in connection with naval disarmament is viewed with greatest importance and therefore, our basic principles shall be here indicated. It is requested that every effort be exerted to win the recognition by the nations concerned especially the U. S. and Britain. The basic policy of the Imperial Government is as follows:

The Imperial Government seeks to establish a principle of non-menace and non-aggression without impairing the sense of security in national defense for all nations because every nation is entitled to the right of possessing armaments required for the safety of the state. Among major naval powers it is a fundamental problem to agree upon a criterion for common maximum limitation of arms for each nation to possess as a measure for reducing arms. In reaching an agreement on this point, in order to demonstrate the true spirit of disarmament minimize the above limitation and drastically curtail offensive arms while adjusting defensive arms, thereby basing upon the principle of "difficult to aggress and secure in defending." To attain this objective, highly-armed nations will be compelled to make greater sacrifices than the others.

7. In reference to the grounds for the above basic policy, in necessary, you are to begin negotiations on definite problems bearing in mind the following factors.

a. You may assert the complete abolition of capital ships as measures for the conference.

b. Assert the complete abolition of aircraft carriers.

c. In the case capital ships and aircraft carriers are to be maintained, place restriction on total tonnage of such ships including A and B class cruisers, destroyers and submarines as well. In this case, emphasis should be put on the reduction of capital ships, aircraft carriers, and heavy cruisers. Designate tonnage allotment for each type of ship to each nation and the allotment to the U.S. and Japan shall be equal. In the case capital ships and aircraft carriers are abolished this will be applicable.

d. The Imperial Government at an early possible date shall demand attaining the standard of the newly agreed military strength, but if necessary in conformity to the above contents of agreed military strength we shall consider concluding an agreement in which we will gradually have to attain a standard in a limited time.

8. Depending on the progress of preliminary negotiations, it may confront a situation where negotiations may be closed abruptly or adjourned or even not open. But the manner in which the present negotiation proceeds will greatly influence the international situation to follow and therefore in such a case utmost care must be taken not to incur any undesirable conditions to our overall plans for the conference.

9. The question of equality in military power between France and Italy has been unsettled to this day. In connection with our present assertion, the standpoint of our Government against these two nations shall be extremely delicate. Therefore put the center of negotiation on the two nations of Britain and the U.S. first and thoroughly explain on the point that our assertion is the

result of earnest desire cherished by our people. Endeavor to have the U.S. and British understand this point. Again, as for the two countries of France and Italy, according to situation, explain to them that the main objective of our assertion is Britain and the U.S.

As for the relations between France and Italy, make it known to them that we have no objections whatsoever on any adequate compromise reached direct between the nations concerned.

10. The Washington Treaty on naval armament restriction in view of the assertion to be made at the present naval disarmament preliminary negotiations is to be abolished as of 1936 according to our Government policy. Even if we announce its abolition, it does not mean that we do not favor a new naval disarmament agreement but seek to contribute to the establishment of a world peace by forming an impartial and fair new agreement between the nations concerned. Therefore, in the present preliminary negotiations, first indicate our basic policy and impress upon the delegates of the respective participant nations that in view of the above policy the Washington Treaty inevitably must be abolished. Moreover, as our present assertion is based on the earnest hope of our people the Government has already decided upon its abolition notification, but on the other hand our Government desires to carry out the preliminary negotiations in a friendly and effective manner to the extent it is possible. Therefore, the Government is withholding the notification so it is desirable that efforts be made to guide the negotiations so that this opportunity is taken to take formal steps in abolishing it with the mutual understanding of all nations concerned and following which all nations will cooperate in the formation of a new treaty. Thereby it will contribute to the alleviation of public opinion. This point should be explained to the respective delegates.

Of the above nations concerned, the U.S. will show considerable opposition. It appears that some part of the British delegation are opposed to the continuation of the Washington Disarmament Treaty. On the other hand, two years after the notification of its abolition, all signatories will witness its abolition, so it is wiser to put emphasis on future negotiations and develop it under a friendly atmosphere.

Persuade the participant powers to consent upon abolishing this agreement by the end of 1936.

However, in case our proposal is not accepted or if the decision hangs on a balance, the Imperial Government will announce its abolition by the end of the year according to its independent decision.

11. Any item besides what has been referred to in this instruction, or any matter considered irrelevant to the import of this instruction, it is requested that you cable us.

Def. Doc. No. 1845

CERTIFICATE OF SOURCE AND AUTHENTICITY

I, M. Yoshii, who occupy the post of Chief of Archives Section of the 2nd Demobilization Bureau, hereby certify that the document hereto attached, written in Japanese, consisting of 8 pages and entitled "Instruction sent to Imperial Government Delegates at the Preliminary Negotiation of the Naval Disarmament Conference of 1935," is an exact and authorized excerpt from an official document in the custody of Japanese Government (2nd Demobilization Bureau).

Certified at Tokyo,
on this 19 day of May, 1947

/s/ Michinori Yoshii
(seal)

I hereby certify that the above signature and seal were affixed hereto in the presence of the Witness.

At the same place,
on this same date.

Witness: Toshi Saito (seal)

文書ノ出所竝ニ成立ニ關スル證明書

(三號)

自分吉井道敎ハ復員廳第二復員局文書課長ノ職ニ居ル者ナル處、茲ニ添
附セラレタル日本語ニ依ツテ書カレ八頁ヨリ成ル昭和十年海軍軍縮會議
録備交渉ニ於ケル帝國代表ニ與フル訓令ト思スル書類ハ日本政府(復員
廳第二復員局)ノ保管ニ係ル公文書ノ拔萃ノ區確ニシテ眞實ナル寫シナ
ルコトヲ證明ス

昭和二十二年五月十九日

於東京

吉井道敎

右署名捺印ハ自分ノ面前ニ於テ爲サレタリ

同日於同所

齋藤 壽

22, Chapter 4 of the London Treaty, concerning the restriction on employing submarines, as an independent agreement. The Imperial Government also does not have any objection towards the same provision becoming an independent agreement. If needs be, we have no objections in continuing the various clauses in the Washington Treaty, such as Clause 14 (restriction on arming merchant ships), Clause 17 (prohibition of using a warship under construction for another power, during war), Clause 18 (agreement on disposition of warships). There are no objections in proceeding with negotiations, with the representatives of nations concerned, in adjusting such clauses and forming a new agreement.

昭和十年海軍軍縮會議豫備交渉ニ於ケル
帝國代表ニ與フル訓令

一帝國ガ本年五月英國政府申入ニ係ル海軍軍縮豫備交渉ノ開始ニ同意セ
ル所以ノモノハ今次海軍軍縮會議ガ重大事項ニシテ且迂餘曲折ノ豫想
セラレルニ鑑ミ右交渉ニ依リ關係國民ノ輿論ヲ無用ニ刺激激化セシム
ルヲ避クルト同時ニ關係國代表ト充分ナル意見ノ交換ヲ行ヒ各國係國
ノ立場及主張ヲ明カナラシメ以テ帝國主張ノ貫徹ヲ圖ルト共ニ帝國國
防ノ安固ヲ期シ得ル範圍ニ於テ同會議ノ目的達成ヲ容易ナラシメント
スルニ在リ

ニ今次豫備交渉ノ複雜ヲ極ムベキニ鑑ミ帝國政府ハ閣下ノ御努力ニ期待
スル處大ナルモノアル處右折衝ニ當リテハ後援根本方針其ノ他本訓令
ノ趣旨ヲ體セラレ又海軍專門事項ニ關シテハ首席海軍專門委員ノ意見
ヲ徵セラレ度シ
尙交渉ノ機微ナルベキニ鑑ミ其ノ折衝ニ關シテハ閣下ノ裁量ニ依リ
訓令ノ範圍内ニ於テ迅速且適切ナル措置ヲ採リ交渉ニ善處セラルベシ

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ヲ遂グルノ素地ヲ作り將來成ルベク國民負擔ノ緩和ヲ圖リ且各國間ノ平和親交ヲ増進センコトヲ期スルモノナリ而シテ既存海軍軍備制限條約實施期間満了後我方ニノミ不利ナル拘束ヲ持續シ又ハ帝國國防ヲ不安ナラシムルガ如キ協定ヲ締結スルガ如キコトハ帝國ノ到底容認シ能ハザル所ナルヲ了シ置カレ度シ

六海軍軍備制限ニ關スル左記帝國政府ノ根本方針ハ我方ノ極メテ重要視スル所ナルヲ以テ先ヅ以テ我が根本方針ヲ提示シ關係國特ニ英米ヲシテ之ヲ承認セシムルニ全力ヲ盡サントシ

帝國政府ノ根本方針左ノ如シ

帝國ハ國家安全ノ爲必要トスル限度ノ軍備ヲ有スルノ權利ハ各國齊シク之ヲ享有シ各國國防ノ安全感ヲ害スルコトナク不脅威不侵略ノ原則ヲ確立セントスルモノニシテ大海軍國問ニ於ケル軍備ノ方法トシテ各國ノ保有シ得ベキ兵力量ノ共通最大限度ヲ規定スルヲ根本義トス

而シテ之ガ協定ニ當リテハ軍備ノ精神ヲ發揮スル爲右限度ヲ小ナラ

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ニ手續上ノ問題ニ關シテハ既ニ主要關係國ト一應意見ノ交換アリタル

處本年十月頃ヨリ再開セラルベキ豫備交渉ニ於テハ未解決ノ事項ニ

付テモ我方主張ヲ貫徹スルニ努メラレ度シ

四英國政府ニ於テ所謂海軍軍縮ノ實質問題ノ討議方ヲ再三我方ニ希望

シ來レルモ米國政府ニ關シテハ必ズシモ然ラズシテ從來米國當路者

ノ在米帝國大使ニ説明セル所ト倫敦ニ於テ米國代表者ノ我方ニ述べ

タル所トノ間ニハ相當懸隔アリト認メラルルニ付テハ閣下ハ豫備交

渉再開ノ劈頭ニ於テ米國政府ニ於テモ實質問題ニ付充分ナル論議ヲ

行フノ意アルコトヲ明確ニセラレ以テ交渉方法ニ遺漏ナキヲ期セラ

レタシ尤モ帝國政府トシテハ米國側ニ於テ萬一實質問題ニ付論議ヲ

行フノ準備ナキ場合ニ於テモ英國側ト適宜右交渉ヲ行フコト差支ナ

キモ英國ガ尋ラ交渉ヲ指導シ從テ我立場ヲ不利ナラシムルガ如キコ

トナキ様留意スルヲ要ス

五今次海軍軍縮豫備交渉ニ於テ帝國政府ハ第六號所載根本方針ニ則リ

兵力ニ關スル公正安富ニシテ帝國國防ノ安固ヲ期スルニ足ル新協定

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ノ平和親交ヲ増進センコトヲ期スルモノナリ而シテ既存海軍軍備制
限條約實施期間満了後我方ニノミ不利ナル拘束ヲ持續シ又ハ帝國國
防ヲ不安ナラシムルガ如キ協定ヲ締結スルガ如キコトハ帝國ノ到底
容認シ能ハザル所ナルヲ了シ置カレ度シ

六海軍軍備制限ニ關スル左記帝國政府ノ根本方針ハ我方ノ極メテ重要
視スル所ナルヲ以テ先ヅ以テ我が根本方針ヲ提示シ關係國特ニ英米
ヲシテ之ヲ承認セシムルニ全力ヲ盡サレタシ

帝國政府ノ根本方針左ノ如シ

帝國ハ國家安全ノ爲必要トスル限度ノ軍備ヲ有スルノ權利ハ各國齊
シク之ヲ享有シ各國國防ノ安全感ヲ害スルコトナク不脅威不侵略ノ
原則ヲ確立セントスルモノニシテ大海軍國間ニ於ケル軍縮ノ方法ト
シテ各國ノ保有シ得ベキ兵力量ノ共通最大限度ヲ規定スルヲ根本義
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シメ且ツ攻撃的兵力ハ之ヲ極力縮減シ防禦的兵力ハ之ヲ整備シ以テ
 各國ヲシテ攻ムルニ難ク守ルニ不安ナカシムルヲ基礎トセザルベカ
 ラズ之ガ爲高度軍備國ハ他ニ比シ一層大ナル犠牲ヲ提供スベキハ勿
 論ナリ

七 前記根本方針ノ論議ニ關連シ必要ニ應ジ右根本方針ヲ前提トシテ左

記含ミノ上具体的問題ニ關スル交渉ヲ開始セラルベシ

(一) 主力艦ハ會議對策トシテ之ガ全廢ヲ主張スルヲ得

(四) 航空母艦ハ之ガ全廢ヲ主張ス

(二) 主力艦、航空母艦存置ノ場合ニ於テハ右兩艦種及甲級巡洋艦ハ乙

級巡洋艦、驅逐艦及潛水艦ト共ニ一括シテ總噸數ヲ以テ制限ス

此ノ場合主力艦、航空母艦及甲級巡洋艦ニ付キテハ極力之ヲ縮減

シ艦種毎ニ各國ニ對シ割當量ヲ定メ帝國及米國ニ對シ右割當ハ同

量トス

主力艦、航空母艦ヲ全廢スル場合亦之ニ準ズ

(三) 帝國政府ハ成ル可ク早キ時機ニ於テ新協定兵力ニ到達スルコトヲ

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要求スルモノナルモ要スレバ右協定兵力ノ内容ニ應ジ一定期間内
 ニ逐次該兵力ニ到達スルヲ目途トシ協定スルコトヲ考慮シ得
 ハ豫備交渉ノ情況如何ニ依リテハ中途ニテ交渉打切り本會議ニ持越シ
 又ハ本會議不開催ニ導カントスル事難ニ立到ルヤモ知レザル處今次
 交渉終止ノ體裁如何ハ爾後ノ國際情勢ニ影響スルコト甚大ナルモノ
 アルベキガ故ニ之等ノ場合ニ於テ我方會議對策ノ大局上ニ不利ヲ招
 來セシメザル様特ニ警戒セラルベシ
 佛伊兩國間ノ兵力均等問題ハ未ダ解決ヲ見ズシテ今日ニ至レル次第
 ニテ我方今次ノ主張ト關連シ帝國ノ右二國ニ對スル立場ハ極メテ機
 微ナルモノトナルベキニ付交渉ノ中心ヲ先ヅ英米兩國ニ置キ我方主
 張ガ現下我が國民ノ熾烈ナル要望トナリ居ル點ニ出ヅルモノナルコ
 トヲ充分説明シ英米ヲシテ了解セシムルニ努メ又佛伊側ニ對シテハ
 狀況ニ應ジ我方主張ノ主要目的國ガ英米二國ニ在ル旨ヲ説明シ佛伊
 兩國間ノ關係ニ付テハ直接關係國ノ間ニ適當ナル妥協點ヲ見出サル
 ルコトニ付何等ノ異議ヲ有セザル旨ヲ可然説明シ置カレ度シ

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 cerned, in adjusting such clauses and forming a new agreement.

七海軍軍備制限ニ関スル華府條約ハ今次海軍軍縮豫備交渉ニ對スル帝國ノ主張ニ鑑ミ昭和十一年未限リ之ヲ廢止スル帝國政府ノ方針ナル處我方ニ於テハ之ガ廢止ヲ爲スモ海軍軍備縮少ニ關スル協定ヲ爲サザルコトヲ欲スルニハ非ズシテ關係國間ニ公正妥當ナル新協定ヲ遂ゲ以テ世界平和ノ確立ニ貢獻セントスルモノナリ從テ今次豫備交渉ニ於テ先ヅ以テ我方根本方針ヲ提示スルト共ニ右方針ニ照ラシ華府制限條約ハ之ヲ廢止スルノ已ムナキニ到ルベキコトヲ關係國代表者ニ印象セシムルヲ適當ナリト認ム就テハ我方今次ノ主張ガ現下國民ノ熾烈ナル要望ニ基クモノニシテ帝國政府トシテハ早晚同條約廢止通告ヲ爲スコトニ決定シ居ル次第ナルモ他方帝國ハ出來得ル限り友好的且效果的ニ豫備交渉ヲ行ハムト欲シ廢止通告ハ之ヲ差控ヘ居ル實情ニシテ此ノ際關係國間ノ合意ニ依リ今年中ニ之ガ廢止通告ノ手續ヲナシ次デ各國協力シテ新條約ノ成立ニ努ムルノ形式ヲ採ルニ於テハ輿論ノ緩和ニ資スルノ效果渺カラザルベキコトヲ適宜關係國代表ニ説明セラレ局面ヲ右ニ導ク様努力相成度シ

Government also does not have any objection to the provision becoming an independent agreement. If needs be, we have no objections in continuing the various clauses in the Washington Treaty, such as Clause 14 (restriction on arming merchant ships), Clause 17 (prohibition of using a warship under construction for another power, during war), Clause 18 (agreement on disposition of warships). There are no objections in proceeding with negotiations, with the representatives of nations concerned, in adjusting such clauses and forming a new agreement.

右ニ對シ關係國中將ニ米ノ如キハ相當難色ヲ示スモノト豫想セラル
 ルモ英國側ノ一部ニ於テハ華府制限條約ノ存續ニ異議アルモノノ如
 ク他方廢止通告後二年ニハ締約國全部ニ關シ同條約ノ廢止ヲ見ルニ
 至ルベキモノナルガ故ニ寧ロ爾後ノ交渉ヲ友好的雰囲気ニ進展セ
 ンルヲ期スルニ思ヒテ各國共同シテ昭和十一年末日迄ニ本條約ヲ
 廢止スルニ同意スル機動說セラレシ
 但シ右交渉ニ際シ關係國が我方提議ヲ應諾セザル場合ハ其ノ諾否
 一應度々開カニセザル場合ニハ帝國政府ハ本件ニ關シ帝國獨自ノ見
 解ニ依リ本年末迄ニ廢止通告ヲ爲スベキハ勿論ナリ
 十一年末日迄ニ廢止通告ヲ爲スベキハ勿論ナリ
 テハ遺憾ナシ

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